

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 01924 01 OF 02 310848Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-13 DHA-02 TRSY-02 ACDA-07 /082 W

-----312344Z 085202 /72

R 301515Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 62

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1924

EO 11652: XGDS-4

TAGS: PFOR CSCE SHUM YO

SUBJ: CONFIDENTIAL PARTY DOCUMENT GIVES YUGOSLAV VIEW OF
WESTERN HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

1. SUMMARY: A CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR ISSUED BY THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS EXPLAINS
THE WESTERN HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN TO PARTY MEMBERS. IT
SAYS THAT ANTI-COMMUNIST REACTIONARY CIRCLES IN THE WEST
ARE TRYING TO DISCREDIT YUGOSLAVIA AND THE COUNTRIES
OF THE WARSAW PACT, USING BASKET III OF THE HELSINKI FINAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 01924 01 OF 02 310848Z

ACT. THE YUGOSLAV POSITION IS THAT THE FINAL ACT MUST BE
IMPLEMENTED AS A WHOLE AND THAT MAKING AN ISSUE OF HUMAN
RIGHTS THREATENS THE ATMOSPHERE OF DETENTE. THE REPORT
ARGUES THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAS AN EXCELLENT HUMAN RIGHTS
RECORD AND WARNS AGAINST A DEFENSIVE OR CRITICAL ATTITUDE
ON THE PART OF LC MEMBERS. ONE SECTION, HOWEVER,
CONCLUDES THAT WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES MIGHT BE

FORCED INTO SOME CRITICISM OF YUGOSLAVIA. THE FACT THAT THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP HAS ISSUED THIS CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENT IS A SIGN OF THE DISCOMFORT WHICH WESTERN SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAS PRODUCED. THEMES AND ARGUMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS HANDLED BY YUGOSLAV MEDIA AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN ALMOST MIRROR IMAGES OF APPROACHES SET OUT IN DOCUMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBASSY HAS OBTAINED FROM A RELIABLE SOURCE A COPY OF A "STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL" DOCUMENT ISSUED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS ON FEB 17, 1977. IT IS ENTITLED "INFORMATION FOR MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA". THE DOCUMENT EXPLAINS THE CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST AND JUSTIFIES THE OFFICIAL REACTION. WHILE IT IS MORE COMPREHENSIVE, IT IS SIMILAR IN LANGUAGE TO MANY EDITORIALS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY YUGOSLAV LEADERS IN THE PAST SIX WEEKS AND PROBABLY FORMED THE BASIS FOR THESE EXPRESSIONS OF OFFICIAL OPINION. IT CONTAINS NOTHING PARTICULARLY NEW, BUT GIVES A FASCINATING INSIGHT INTO OFFICIAL YUGOSLAV THINKING ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND CSCE. THE FOLLOWING IS A PRECIS OF THE DOCUMENT WITH QUOTATIONS SO MARKED (TEXT WILL BE POUNDED EUR/EE).

3. RECENT YEARS HAVE SEEN A POSITIVE EASING OF TENSION, PARTICULARLY IN EUROPE. THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE WAS A NOTEWORTHY EXPRESSION OF THIS EVOLUTION. HOWEVER, CERTAIN "REACTIONARY AND OTHER BLOC FORCES" HAVE SOUGHT TO OPPOSE THIS HISTORICALLY INEVITABLE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 01924 01 OF 02 310848Z

PROCESS OF DETENTE AND THE STRENGTHENING OF COOPERATION. THEY HAVE EVEN TRIED TO INVOLVE THE UPCOMING BELGRADE MEETING IN THIS BLOC COMPETITION. "COLD WAR CIRCLES IN THE WEST", IN PARTICULAR, HAVE MOUNTED A PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE DESIGNED TO DISCREDIT CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF THE WARSAW PACT BY EMPHASIZING THE "THIRD BASKET" OF THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT. THE AIM OF THIS CAMPAIGN IS TO SHOW THAT FREEDOM IS "NOT POSSIBLE IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY". BUT THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY CANNOT BE SEEN AS A MATTER OF "DISSIDENTS" WHO MOST OFTEN ARE ORIENTED AGAINST SOCIALISM. THESE GROUPS ARE IN MANY CASES "ONLY WEAPONS OF THE FORCES OF THE COLD WAR AND INTELLIGENCE SERVICES".

4. THE YUGOSLAV POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE HELSINKI DOCUMENT IS THAT IT MUST BE IMPLEMENTED IN ITS ENTIRETY. INSISTING ON THE THIRD BASKET THREATENS TO PRODUCE A STRONG REACTION BY THE COUNTRIES OF THE WARSAW PACT. ALL THIS WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO AN ATMOSPHERE

OF UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION. WITH REGARD TO THE THIRD BASKET IT MUST BE IMPLEMENTED WITH STRICT RESPECT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, WITHOUT ATTACKS ON THE IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF OTHER COUNTRIES, AND WITHOUT ATTEMPTS TO PRESSURE OTHER COUNTRIES. ONLY THIS APPROACH WILL PRODUCE AN ATMOSPHERE OF UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE WHICH IS A PRECONDITION FOR POSITIVE EVOLUTION IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES.

5. "REACTIONARY CIRCLES IN THE WEST" ARE ALSO TRYING TO ORGANIZE A CAMPAIGN AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA WITH REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS. THE SUPPORTERS OF THIS CAMPAIGN ARE THE SAME REACTIONARY CIRCLES WHOSE ANTI-YUGOSLAV ACTIVITIES WERE APPARENT IN RECENT YEARS. THE CAMPAIGN IS DIRECTED AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA BOTH AS HOST OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE AND AS AN OUTSTANDING INDEPENDENT AND NONALIGNED COUNTRY. "THIS SYNCHRONIZED PSYCHOLOGICAL-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BELGRA 01924 01 OF 02 310848Z

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST OUR COUNTRY IS AN ATTEMPT TO DRAW YUGOSLAVIA INTO THE INTERBLOC CONFRONTATION AND TO HARM THE FOREIGN REPUTATION OF OUR COUNTRY AND ITS SOCIALIST SELFMANAGING SOCIETY, WHICH IS INCREASING MORE AND MORE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD". THE CAMPAIGN IS DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT NO SOCIALIST SOCIETY, NOT EVEN YUGOSLAVIA, CAN PROVIDE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AND THAT A WESTERN BOURGEOIS MODEL IS THE ONLY CORRECT ONE. "WITH THAT AIM THESE CIRCLES USE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM LIKE DJILAS, MIHAJLOV AND SIMILAR TURNCOATS."

6. IN THIS CONTEXT, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL TRIED TO MAKE A "SENSATION" REGARDING A PETITION SUBMITTED BY A TOTAL OF 62 (SIC) CITIZENS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT REGARDING FREEDOM OF TRAVEL. THIS PETITION WAS FIRST SUBMITTED ON OCTOBER 21 OF LAST YEAR BY FOUR BELGRADE LAWYERS. EIGHT ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THE SAME TEXT WERE LATER SUBMITTED BY SOME GROUPS IN BELGRADE. UPI REPORTED ON THE LAST OF THESE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 01924 02 OF 02 312323Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-13 DHA-02 TRSY-02 ACDA-07 /082 W

-----312346Z 112123 /72

R 301515Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 63

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

USMISSION USUN NEW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1924

NINE IDENTICAL PETITIONS IN ITS REPORT OF FEBRUARY 2.

7. THE AUTHORS OF THIS CAMPAIGN OBVIOUSLY HOPE TO WEAKEN THE INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE BY INSISTING ON THE THESIS THAT ANY SOCIALIST SOCIETY REPRESENTS A "TOTALITARIAN REGIME." ONE SEES ALSO THE "ANTI-COMMUNIST, CLASS CHARACTER OF THIS CAMPAIGN."

8. THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR DISAGREEMENT WITH THE REGIME OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS IN SOME EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THESE PARTIES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BELGRA 01924 02 OF 02 312323Z

UNDOUBTEDLY BASE THEIR POSITIONS ON EXPERIENCES DURING THE STALINIST PERIOD AND THE PRESENT PRACTICE OF SOCIAL RELATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND AT THE SAME TIME ON THE INTERNAL "TACTICAL-POLITICAL NEEDS OF THE STRUGGLE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES." AT THE SAME TIME THESE PARTIES FACE POWERFUL PRESSURE TO DEFINE THEMSELVES ON THESE QUESTIONS. THERE IS AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT BY "REACTIONARY FORCES TO PRODUCE A CONFRONTATION ON THESE QUESTIONS BETWEEN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND OUR COUNTRY." "IN THESE CONDITIONS WE CANNOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF CERTAIN MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND EVEN CERTAIN CONCESSIONS

BY THESE PARTIES." IT IS NECESSARY TO KEEP IN MIND CERTAIN QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE. THE LCY MADE A HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HEGEMONISM. TOGETHER WITH SOME OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES THE LCY MADE AN ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTION SO THAT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WOULD BE A MEANINGFUL STEP IN THE AFFIRMATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN RELATIONS BETWEEN COMMUNIST PARTIES. THE LCY HAS SUPPORTED THE EFFORTS OF THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS TO BUILD SOCIALISM IN THEIR OWN WAY. WE EXPECT WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS FOR THEIR PART OBJECTIVELY TO EVALUATE THE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM IN YUGOSLAVIA.

9. WITH REGARD TO THE CONTINUATION OF "WESTERN PROPAGANDA DIRECTLY AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA", YUGOSLAVIA IS ONE OF THE MOST OPEN COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD. THE CITIZEN OF MORE THAN 50 COUNTRIES CAN COME TO YUGOSLAVIA WITHOUT VISAS AND THE FORMALITIES FOR OTHERS ARE SIMPLE. YUGOSLAVS MADE ALMOST 13 MILLION TRIPS ABROAD LAST YEAR. OUR CITIZENS RECEIVE TRAVEL DOCUMENTS MUCH EASIER THAN CITIZENS OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF WESTERN AND EASTERN COUNTRIES ARE FREELY SOLD IN YUGOSLAVIA. IN THE UNITED STATES, WEST GERMANY AND SOME OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES "NOT ONE OF THEIR CITIZENS" WHO DECLARES HIMSELF A COMMUNIST

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BELGRA 01924 02 OF 02 312323Z

OR A COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZER CAN OBTAIN EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC AND STATE SERVICES, EITHER BECAUSE OF LAW OR VARIOUS MANIPULATIONS. IN SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE ILLEGAL. IN THE WEST ALSO EXIST MANY OTHER SIGNS OF DISCRIMINATION AND MANIPULATION, SUCH AS RACIAL DISCRIMINATION" AND THAT IS TO SAY NOTHING OF THE CLASS-EXPLOITATIVE CHARACTER OF CAPITALIST SOCIAL RELATIONS." THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY IN A SOCIALIST SOCIETY IS WHETHER THAT SOCIETY CREATES THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS FOR THE WORKING MAN TO BE A MANAGER OF THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION AND ALL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES. YUGOSLAVIA IS KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD FOR ITS STRUGGLE FOR STRENGTHENING THE POSITION OF THE WORKING MAN IN SOCIETY. "IT IS IN FACT THAT SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGING AND NON-ALIGNED YUGOSLAVIA, WHOSE REPUTATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CONSTANTLY INCREASES, WHICH BOTHERS THE LEADERS OF THE THIS NEWEST ANTI-YUGOSLAV CAMPAIGN." YUGOSLAVIA CAN FEEL SUPERIOR TO OTHER NATIONS WITH REGARD TO HUMAN FREEDOMS AND THE FREE CIRCULATION OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS. "THEREFORE ANY DEFENSIVE OR TOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INSINUATIONS MENTIONED OR OTHERS LIKE THEM WOULD BE HARMFUL AND WOULD ENCOURAGE OUR ENEMIES. IN OUR POLICY AND PROPAGANDA IN GENERAL,

WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND ABROAD, THIS MUST BE KEPT IN MIND."

10. YUGOSLAVIA IS A PRINCIPLED FIGHTER FOR EQUAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS AGAINST ANY KIND OF DOMINATION OR INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, FOR THE FIGHT OF EACH NATION TO INDEPENDENTLY DECIDE ITS OWN FAITH, FOR HUMANISM IN INTER-PERSONAL RELATIONS AND THROUGH HUMAN FREEDOM. THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR THE EVEN FURTHER REALIZATION IN PRACTICE OF THE HUMAN PRINCIPLES OF OUR SOCIETY. "THAT WILL BE AN EVEN STRONGER DEFENSE AGAINST ALL PRESSURES AND SUBVERSIVE ATTEMPTS OF FOREIGN ENEMIES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BELGRA 01924 02 OF 02 312323Z

AND THEIR FEW SYMPATHIZERS IN THE COUNTRY. COMMUNISTS LEAD THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE OF ALL SOCIALIST FORCES IN OUR SOCIETY, IN WHICH THERE CANNOT BE ROOM FOR THE ACTION OF OPPONENTS OF OUR REVOLUTION."

11. COMMENT: UNDOUBTEDLY A BRIEFING PAPER OF SORTS, THIS CONFIDENTIAL PARTY DOCUMENT IS AN INDICATION OF THE DISCOMFORT WHICH WESTERN INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS HAS CAUSED HERE. WARNINGS AGAINST A DEFENSIVE ATTITUDE SUGGEST THAT SOME YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS MAY HAVE TAKEN WESTERN CRITICISMS TO HEART. THE DOCUMENT SHOWS THAT THE YUGOSLAV PARTY HAS ADOPTED AN AGGRESSIVE STANCE, ADMITTING NO FAILINGS AND VIEWING THE ISSUE AS AN ANTI-COMMUNIST, COLD WAR, REACTIONARY CAMPAIGN. WHILE THE DOCUMENT EXPRESSES NO SYMPATHY WITH THIS CAMPAIGN AND IS CONCEPTUALLY CLOSE TO THE SOVIET POSITION, IT DOES ACKNOWLEDGE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED IN THE REST OF EASTERN EUROPE. IT SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, THAT THE PROBLEM CAN BEST BE SOLVED BY ENHANCING THE ATMOSPHERE OF DETENTE. IN THE YUGOSLAV VIEW, A CLIMATE OF COOPERATION WILL ITSELF PRODUCE POSITIVE INTERNAL CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE. WE NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT YUGOSLAVS FAVOR MAXIMUM EXTERNAL PRESSURE AGAINST "REACTIONARY" REGIMES.
YORK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DOCUMENTS, POLICIES, HUMAN RIGHTS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, COMMUNISTS, POLITICAL PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 30-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BELGRA01924
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X4
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770111-0148
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977039/aaaaagxo.tel
Line Count: 320
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 19bf12bd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3197013
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONFIDENTIAL PARTY DOCUMENT GIVES YUGOSLAV VIEW OF WESTERN HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, YO, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/19bf12bd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009